● 19

[For additional information on the grammatical analysis of the Gullah language, see Category 193.]

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[For additional information on Gullah grammar and phonology, see Categories 193 and 194.]

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Appendix 3

Phonetic Text: The Soul and the Spirit

The following text is included in this study primarily to show the language in context. It manifests many phonological, syntactical, and morphological constructions characteristic of creole languages.[1] The English version following the transcription obscures many of the creole patterns; consequently, a word-for-word translation accompanies each line of phonetic script to illustrate underlying creole constituents such as the complementizer [fɔ], the introductory verb [sie], the future marker [go], and many other constructions.

This passage reveals specific segmental phonological phenomena, for example, vowel epenthesis, consonant reduction, assimilation, and various phones corresponding to, or substituted for, such English phones as /β/ for /w/; /ɸ/ for /f/; /ɪ/ for initial /ð/ and /ɵ/; and /ç/ and /ʃ/ for /s/. No effort has been made to eliminate false starts, deviant words, or stuttering. It is extremely difficult to hear certain sequences because of interference of birds and other outdoor noises on the tape. In such cases ellipsis dots indicate that a short passage, usually no more than a few words, has been deleted because of unintelligibility.

Terminal junctures and pauses have been indicated by a slash (/).

Creaky voice is indicated by a wavy underline (~~~).

Hyphens join two or more words run together in the transcription.

English translations of the preverbal markers and the third-person pronominal forms often misrepresent the creole utterance. The following notations are accordingly used to symbolize these forms:

(3 ♂ n) third-person masculine nominative
(3 ♀ n) third-person feminine nominative

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193 (3 ∅ n) third-person neuter nominative
539 (3 ♂ o) third-person masculine objective
128 (3 ♀ o) third-person feminine objective
(3 ∅ o) third-person neuter objective

(PrC)	present continuative	/də/
(PaC)	past	/bɪnə/
(T)	tense indicator	/bɪn/
(L)	locative	/də/

539 di soəl ɛn di speɪt

795 1. lɪsn mi gʊd nɔu / βɛn ju daɪ nɪs wɔ̈l / jusi / dɪ dɪ dɪ so·əl
•19 *Listen me good now: when you die in-this world, you see, the, the, the soul*

2. əβə män go fiom dʊ di kɪŋdəm ə gɔd / bɔt juə speit
of-a man go home to the Kingdom of God, but your spirit

3. stɪls iə ɔn ɔ?t / ɛn ɪɸ ju βədɪ dɛβəl ɪn ɒl juə diez /
still's here on earth. And if you was-the devil in all your days,

4. juə speit /ätə ju died / joə speit kə du di siem tiŋ / juə speit
your spirit, after you dead, your spirit can do the same thing, your spirit.

5. juə soəl ɔ̈p dɛ / bɔt juə speit dɛ ɪɛ? dɔŋ də iə βɪd
Your soul up there, but your spirit (L) right down (L) here with

6. di bɒrɪ / ɛn däs də wɔn gɔ gɔ du də ɸɛk tu jʊ / jʊ si nɔ nɔ
the body. And that's the one gone, gone do the effect to you. You see now now

7. das das βɒɪ ɒɪ sie dɪs nɔ / ə lɒs ä pipũ
that's that's why I say this now. A lot of people

8. dõn biliɸ / sie sie sieiz no guos / iz guos deə /bɔt nɔ sensz
don't believe. Say say say-is no ghost. Is ghost there. But now since

9. di ?ärəmobil n tiŋ kɔm / n gɪt dɪ hɒɪβie nɔ / jusidiz diz tiŋ
the automobile and thing come and get the highway now, you-see-these, these thing

10. käinə tɛk tu wʊd / äɪ mɛmbə wɔnäɪt / βi βi bɪn ɔut
kind-of take to wood. I member one-night we, we (T) out

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11. n di ɹəβə / wɔʰɒnˀ wɔ wɔtʃɛkɪn ʃiβɪms / ɛnəβɛn ɒɪ lʊk / wɔ õ
in the river, was-hunt, was, was-catching shrimps. And-ah-
when I look, was a

12. mɪn mi ɸös kɔ̈zn ɹɛɾɔpdil / βi bɪn ɪn kɹɪk / ɛn βɛn ɒɪ lʊk bɛk
me-and me first cousin, right-up-the-hill, we (T) in crick. And
when I look back

13. bəˀɒɪn βi / i wɔ̈z ə kɔɸɔm bɪn bəhɒɪn βi / dɛ nätʃəl
behind we, (3 ø n) was a coffin (T) behind we. The natural-

14. bɔn kɔɸɔm gɛl ʃqin dɔŋ dɪ kɹɪk /
born coffin, gal, shine down the crick.

15. ɛn βɛn βɛn i gɛt ɔpə kloə tʊ βi ɸä ju tʊ da kä jõna / i tɛk'
And when, whn, (3 ð n) get up-a close to we far you to the
car-yonder, (3 ð n) take

16. daˀma·ʃ / ɛn daˀ maʃ bɪnə lie dɔŋ dis / lie dɔŋ dʒɪs lɛk dät /
that-marsh. And that marsh (PaC) lay down just, lay down
just like that.

17. ɛ́n ɒɪ bɪnə sɪɾɔŋ ɛn ɒɪ ẽ nõ ɒɪ bɪnə ɪnəsí / si . . . /
And I (PaC) sit-down and I ain't know I (PaC) in-a-seat.
See . . .

18. jie / də nɛ·tʃal kɔɸɪn / də nɛ·tʃəl kɔɸɪn kɔmɪn dɔŋdiɹɪβə /
siβɪm
yeah, the natural coffin, the natural coffin coming down-the-
river, swim.

19. dasəspeɪt nɔu / jie / kɔmɪn dɔŋ də ɹɪβə / ɛn βɛn / ˀɒˀə βi /
dɪsbɔi
That's-a-spirit now. Yeah. Coming down the river. And
when—after we, this-boy

20. tɔk βiɾəm / hidis / ɕɪɸ wɔn sɐid oβəndə mäʃ jusi / ɛn hi sitɛt
talk with-(3 ø o), (3 ø n)-just shave one side over-in-the
marsh, you-see. And (3 ø n) start

21. tʊ lie da maʃ dɔŋ / ɛn lɛɸ da maʃɛn gönɔpnɪiedʒ ədawʊd /
to lay that marsh down, and left that marsh-and gone-up-in-
the-edge of-that-wood,

22. ɛn laˀ da wʊd bɪn bɐut ɸɔ ɸɔm βi·z də kɹɪk /
and Lord, that wood (T) about far from we-as the crick.

23. ɛn ju kədə jɛɾi ɔu i kieɔntɔpida ɪn da wʊd /
And you could-have heard how (3 ø n) carry-on-top-of-that,
in that wood.

529 775 •19 24. βiel nɔdiztinɪzdɛ nɔ / nɔ ɛβibodi ɻɛ̃ ɕɔ̈əm /
Well now-these-thing-is-there now. No, everybody can't see-them.

25. bɔt ju gɔt ɸiɬɪn ju ʔkŋ ɕɔ̈əm / βiel ɒɪ ä̈d wɔn dɔɾə . . . no ɒɪ ɦä̈d wɔn dɔɾə /
But you got feeling, you can see-them. Well, I had one daughter, . . . no, I had one daughter

26. ɪnnu jɔk ɹäit nɔu / n hi kuɾə stɛnɛni iβinɪn / ɛn ʃuə ju /
in-New York right now, and (3 ♀ n) could stand-any evening and show you,

27. n ʃuə ju dɪ dɪ də pɔsn / ŋgə ʃö̈ ju tuəɻi pɔsn / ɕɔʔm ɹɛit ɕjɒndə
and show you the, the, the person, and-could show you two-three person./ "See-(3 ♂ o) right yonder,

28. dë̈dɪ də stɛnɔp / ɛn ɒɪ kudn ʃɔəm ɸə ɕieβ ɱɒɪ dɒiŋ lɒiɸ
Daddy, (PrC) stand-up," and I couldn't see-(3 ♂ o) for save my dying life,

29. ɛndä gjɛl bɪn dä βie bɪn dä βie til / dë̈m tiŋ justə ɸɪɒɪdɛm /
and-that gal (T) that way, (T) that way til them thing use-to frightened-(3 ♀ o),

30. ɛn dɛn ɒɪ kiɛm tʊ dɪ / ɒɪ kiɛm
and then I carry-(3 ♀ o) to the, I carry-(3 ♀ o)

31. tə de fiɒsipɪɾɪ / ɛn βɒ në̈m pipl du βiɾəm nɛ / ɒɪ dɔ̈ no /
to the hospital. And what them people do with-(3 ♀ o) there, I don't know.

32. bɔ ɸɔ̈m ɔpdä tɒɪm ɪn ɔpnɔ / ʃi neβə dɪ si nɔn nɔmo / . . .
But from up-that time and up-now, (3 ♀ n) never did see none no-more. . . .

33. hi mɔs bi bɔ̈n βɪd sɔmp ɸə ʃɔəm /
(3 ♀ n) must be born with something for see(3 ø o).

34. ɸə si ʃi kuɾə ʃɔəm ple·en / juno / iʔ i ʃɔəm nɛ·tʃəl juno /
For see, (3 ♀ n) could see-(3 ø o) (it) plain, you-know, (3 ♀ n), (3 ♀ n) see-(3 ø o) (it) natural, you-know.

35. ·didɪs də sitanɔpdʰɛi ʃɔ̈m / jie ɛndɛnɒm / βiel ə o əlɒtsa pʰipl ə
Just-just (PrC) stan-up-there-(3 ♀ n) see-(3 ø o). Yeah. And-then-ah, well, a, oh, a-lot-of people, a,

36. əholo·tsa·pʰipl jugoβɪdnɔ kɛ̃ ʃɔ̈m / kɛ ˈʃɔ̈mɛn tʰɛ / ju ˈtʰuə /
a-whole-lot-of people you-go-with now can see-(3 ø o), can see-(3 ø o)-and tell you too!

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37. si si da pɔsn jɒna / jieə / jieə /das ɹɛ̈it / jiə ju kʊ
"See, see that person yonder." Yeah, yeah, that's right. Yeah, you could

38. ɸɪləm / jiə . . . mũ? / das di ol dɛβəl / βiel nɔnɔ / ju no
feel-(3 ð o) Yeah . . . muh, that's the old devil. Well now-now, you know

39. βɒɪ ɒɪ tɔk bɔ? sɔ̈mtɐɪm ju go bəjəsɛɸ / ɪɸ ju dis wɒk /
why I talk but sometime you go by-yourself. If you just walk.

40. n sɔ̈mtɐɪm ju ɸɪl 'timəɹɪdʒ / sɔ̈mtɒɪ ju ɸil lɐka jʊ fiiə /
and sometime you feel timeridge, sometime you feel like your hair

41. lʊklɐi / ju ɸil / ju gɪt 'timə,ɹɪdʒ . . . / das ɹɐit /
look-like you feel you get timeridge . . . that's right.

42. βiel ju si ə / jʊəspeɪt hɪt da iβəl ɸɛla / ɛn jʊə speɪt kɔm bɛk tʊjʊ /
Well, you see, ah, your-spirit hit that evil fellow. And your spirit come back to-you.

43. dʒɪs läk ə βɛn ju go ɪn bɐd dɪ nɐit ɸə silip
Just like a, when you go in bed the night to sleep,

44. βɛnjugoɪnbedinɐit / ɸə tiek ə ɹɛs / βel də speit
when-you-go-in-bed-the-night for take a rest, well, the spirit

45. lɛɸ dɪ bɒɾɪ / si βɛn juə speit lɛɸ dɪ bɒɾl / jʊə
left the body. See, when your spirit left the body your

46. speit go ɪn dlɸ̈n pät ə dɪs kɔntɬi / ɔloβə / ɛn dɛn sɔmtäim
spirit go in different part of this country. All-over. And then sometime

47. βen də fiɪt dä iβəl speit / βen ju çiəm ɹɔn / kɔm bɛk də ju
when (PrC) hit that evil spirit, when you see-(3 ø o) run, come back to you

48. ɛn mɛk ju skie njoə bed / sɔmtɒɪm ju mä? fiɒlə sɐirəsɔ̈mlɛkdɛt
and make you scare in-your bed. Sometime you may holler beside-some-like-that.

49. si juo speit kɔm bɛk nju ɸɹäin /
See, your spirit come back an-you frighten.

50. no ju kɛ̃ silip si / ɛn dɛn ju kɛ̃ βiekɔ̃p / dispeit dõ
No, you can't sleep, see, and then you can't wake-up. The-spirit don't

51. kɔ̈m bɛk tʊ jʊ / nɔ ɪɸ də speit dõ kɔm bɛk tʊ jʊ / jʊ nuo ju

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come back to you. Now if the spirit don't come back to you, you know you

52. dɛ / ɪn ɔrə wʊd / ju ẽ die oβə fiɪə / nɔdã ʧuɸ / nɔ /
there. In other word, you ain't there over here. Now-that truth, now.

53. nɔ däs ʧuɸ / ju gɪt dɪ bʊɪbl ɛn ju ɹirəm / däs ʧuɸ /
Now that's truth. You get the Bible and you read-(3 ɸ o). That's truth.

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Listen well now: when you die, you see, the soul of a man goes home to the Kingdom of God, but your spirit remains here on earth. And if you were an evildoer all of your life, then after you die, your spirit can continue doing the same kind of evil. Your soul is in heaven, but your spirit remains here on earth with the body, and that's the one that will harm you.

You see, I speak of this now because a great many people don't believe. They say that ghosts do not exist. But they do exist. But now, since the automobile and other transportation has overrun the highways, these spirits have sought refuge in the woods.

I remember one night we, my first cousin who lives up on the hill and I, were out in the river catching shrimps. And when we looked behind us, we saw a coffin, a natural coffin, Miss, shining down the crick. And when it came as close to us as the distance between you and that car, it disappeared into the marsh. The marsh separated from the burden and lay open. And I found myself sitting down without knowing when I became seated. . . . Yes, it was a natural coffin swimming down the river. Now that was a spirit coming down the river. Well, after [my cousin] spoke with it, it turned sharply to one side, flattened the marsh, and went up in the wood's edge only a distance as far as from us to the crick, and Lord, you could hear the confusion as it carried on in those woods.

Well, these things do exist. No, everybody can't see them. But if you are sensitive you can feel them. I have a daughter in New York today, and she could on any evening show you one ghost or two or three ghosts. "See it standing right there, Daddy!" But I couldn't see it to save my dying life. But she had always been frightened by ghosts. Finally, I took her to the hospital, and I don't know what the hospital

•19

Creole and Nonstandard Complementizer Variants

fɛ
ø
fɛ to
fɛ NP fɛ
fɛ NP ø

Omitted from the analysis are occurrences of used to, have/had to (obligation), and got(s) to (obligation). The reason for this omission involves the aspectual and modal nature of these items in Gullah. Used to indicates a habitual past action, and is a single lexical item for the speakers observed. No speaker shows any variation between to and fɛ with this aspectual marker. Have to in its phonetic realisation as [hæfə] is also a single lexical item for those speakers who use it, and may represent a transition stage between the older Gullah conditional modal of obligation fɛ and the Standard English modals of obligation such as have to, had to (which includes tense marking), ought to, got to, gots to (which includes hypercorrect tense marking), and should. The stages of change for these lexical items have not been analyzed, but such a direction seems at least plausible. At any rate, the lexical items used to and obligatory have/had to, got(s) to currently function as modals for speakers, rather than as verbs and complementizers. For this reason, they are not included in the comparison of complementizer variants in Table 1 below.

The pre-infinitival complementizer in Gullah can be classified in terms of three syntactic function[illegible] the

•19 introduction of purposive clauses, the introduction of adjunctive or relative clauses, and the introduction of verb objects. Of these three clausal types, the purposive clauses show heaviest use of creole variants. Over half the complementizers used with purposive clauses in the data analysed here (see Table 1) are creole and nonstandard variants listed above. Faraci (forthcoming) distinguishes three subgroups for the purposive infinitive clause in standard English (purpose, rationale, and objective clauses), but the data for Gullah do not warrant making such distinctions. Those clauses which indicate either purpose or intention and either reason or result for action in the matrix clauses are grouped together here for Gullah under the broad classification of 'purposive.' Examples of complementizer variants 193 which introduce purposive clauses in the data presented in Table 1 are as follows:

PURPOSIVE

fE: (10) she just gone fr take a rest (S2)

'she just went to take a rest'

(11) I don't get up fE dance-- (S1)

'if I don't get up to dance--'

∅: (12) they don't take over fifteen, twenty minutes ∅ cut up some wood (S16)

'they don't take over fifteen, twenty minutes to cut up some wood'

fE NP ∅: (13) they had to push down the house fE my daughter ∅ come here from New York (S2)

000 tions introduced by to in earlier English for similar reasons. Jespersen (1940) notes that for preceding to + Verb originally expressed the notion of 'purpose,' though in time this construction came to be merely the equivalent of the to-infinitive. He cites parallel developments in certain Scandinavian dialects; in Skåne, för till att marks infinitives of purpose. Visser (1966) speculates that the use of for to with adverbial infinitives may have arisen in Middle English either because by that time the directive force of to was too much toned down, or from a trend to reinforce the directive force of this complementizer. He cites other pre-infinitival phrases used, as evidence for such a re-inforcing trend: for pat entent to, in purpose to, in order to. In a computational study of the infinitive used from Old to Modern English (including certain forms not marked by a complementizer), Appleby (1967) discerns no pattern in the variation between to and for to during the Middle English period. She does find that, by Early Modern English, for to was used primarily with nouns and adverbs. The 'adverb' classification used by Appleby is the one closest to the 'purposive' classification used here for Gullah infinitival clauses.

19 1977 From the discussion of the speech community (Chapter 2), it should be clear that the type of English most likely to be heard by early Gullah speakers was not the standard Early Modern English of London. If many West African immigrants had already learned Gullah in African ports before

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019 being transported to the Carolina colony, as Hancock (1975)
177 suggests, the English which contributed to the development of the African-based creole was not that of the standard variety, either. Traugott's history of English syntax (1972) notes the importance of certain similarities between the English spoken by some Americans of West African ancestry today and that of seventeenth-century northern England and Scotland. So far as the complementizer is concerned, it is conceivable that the nonstandard for to or even for was the variant used in the kind of English heard by the early immigrants from Africa. Or that these were among the variants heard.

193 The heavy retention of fE for purposive clauses in Gullah, even as the change to standard forms for the complementizer in other environments is almost complete, argues for another explanation for the original choice of fE as complementizer than simply a dialectal one. Evidence from standard English and from other creoles points to the close relationship between particles used as prepositions or case markers to indicate notions of purpose and possession, and between homonymous particles having a complementizing function. In an influential discussion of factive and non-factive predicates, Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) noted the close association between certain types of infinitival con-
000 structions and non-factive predicates. In a subsequent examination of psychological predicates in English, Aijmer

•19 provide orientation with respect to a 'deictic center.' Ego is seen as the deictic center or zero point at which the local and temporal orientations of the speaker intersect, in a model of communication based on a speaker and a hearer at a certain place and time. For standard English, at would be neutral to ego in terms of orientation, while to would be positive in the sense of movement oriented toward ego. From would be negatively oriented away from ego. For Gullah, as indicated in Figure 2, the preposition to is used for both neutral and positive deictic orientations. From is used for negative orientations, as in the standard variety of English. In Gullah from can be said to be more highly marked than to for three reasons: it occurs with relatively less frequency than to; it governs a smaller semantic space than to; and it is used for a negative orientation which contrasts with the positive orientation of to in both uses of to. It is helpful to view the basic set of Gullah locative prepositions in terms of marked and unmarked relationships, following Traugott (1974) (see Figure 3 on p. 72).

In Figure 3, the prepositions to, on, and in are shown as unmarked in relation to from, off, and out along the directional axis.[4] We would expect future expansion in the number of surface markers used for locative relationships

[4] In Traugott's analysis, the prepositions to and on, from and off are unmarked with relation to in and out along the dimensional axis. Only the directional axis concerns us here, however.

•19

Direction	Dimension: Non-inclusion UNMARKED 0-1	Non-inclusion UNMARKED 1-2	Inclusion MARKED 2-3
Positive UNMARKED (static)	to	on	in
Positive UNMARKED (dynamic)			
Negative MARKED	from	off	out

Figure 3. Gullah Locative Prepositions (based on Traugott, 1974)

to take place within the unmarked portion of this set, with a portion of the set becoming marked in relation to the remainder of the set. In fact, that is what is happening currently in Gullah as at comes to be used to indicate static relationships in the speech of many speakers, while to is retained to indicate only the more marked positive function of 'movement toward.'

000 4.2.2 History of Locative to and at in English and in Caribbean Creoles

Just as the uses of for and to before an infinitive

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TABLE 2

STATIC-LOCATIVE PREPOSITION DISTRIBUTION FOR SEVENTEEN SPEAKERS

019

Speaker	+			-			TOTALS	
	TO	ø	AT-1	AT-2	AT-3	AT-4	+	-
1	7						7	0
15	2	1	1				4	0
16			1				1	0
13	1	1					2	0
2	13	4	1	1	1		18	2
20	7				1		7	1
12	6			1			6	1
8	6	3		1	1	1	9	3
7	7			3			7	3
3	7			1	1	1	7	3
6	2	2		2			4	2
5	3	1			1	2	4	3
4	2				1	1	2	2
11	3			1	5	1	3	7
10		1			3		1	3
14				10	4	1	0	15
9					1		0	1
TOTALS	66	13	3	20	19	7	82	46

\+ = creole or nonstandard variants
\- = standard variant

AT-1 = adverbial particle
AT-2 = temporal
AT-3 = spatial
AT-4 = emphatic

193 the object forms in masculine, feminine, and neuter genders. The last to change are those for subject. This distribution contrasts with that found for the third person singular pronouns in Guyanese Creole by Bickerton (1973). For Guyanese, Bickerton found masculine possessive forms to change last, while feminine subject forms changed first. Figure 10 shows the ranking of pronominal categories in the two creoles, from most creolized to least creolized:

	GUYANESE	GULLAH
Most creolized	MPos	NSub
.	NSub	MSub
.	FPos	FSub
.	NObj	NObj
.	FObj	FObj
.	MObj	MObj
.	FSub	MPos
Least creolized		FPos

Figure 10. Creolization of Third Person Singular Pronouns in Gullah and Guyanese Creole

• 19 The lists are ordered, from most creolized to least creolized categories. The top category in each column is the last to show standard forms for each creole. Bickerton did not include masculine subject forms in his analysis, reporting that (h)i occurred in its pre-aspirated form even in the most

• 19 creolized speech. Even though it is a difficult form to distinguish phonetically and the unaspirated form occurs in other modern dialects of English, ee as used for masculine subject was included in the Gullah analysis because I believed from the beginning that this was the basic subject form in all genders, and I wanted to see how long it persisted relative to other forms. As a masculine subject form, ee is counted in positions where it receives some sentence stress and would not be unaspirated in standard English.[8] The distribution given in Table 3 indicates that this form persists very late for all subject forms, regardless of gender. For the speaker whose speech is most creolized (Speaker 2), some uses of standard it occur in object position while none occur for subject. Seven speakers who use predominately standard it in object position retain uses of ee for neuter subject. English, like other Indo-European languages, makes no distinction in the nominative and accusative cases for neuter pronouns. It is significant that Gullah has such a distinction early and keeps the distinction between ee for neuter subject and Em for neuter object until relatively late. This difference between Gullah and English is additional evidence for the creole origin of Gullah. The different order in which the pronouns of Gullah and those of Guyanese change toward the standard lends sup-

[8] I am indebted to Richard Janda and to Shirley Hicks for checking my phonetic analysis of these forms.

A. [For Table 3, see Category 193, p. 100--Analyst]

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
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Georgetown

• 19 porting evidence for Hancock's claim (1975) for different origins for these creoles, and should be expected in light of the previous discussion about different patterns for marking participant roles in different creoles. That such differences persist today for Gullah and Guyanese Creole may reflect different developmental patterns in the change from creole to standard forms, stemming from original differences in classification for this grammatical category. Different source languages for Gullah and Guyanese Creole are suggested as the ultimate origin of this difference in pronominal marking.

193 It seems clear that, while there is great variation in the forms used for this grammatical category in Gullah by speakers in rural Georgetown County, it is not possible to write a variable rule which would cover all speakers in the manner of Labov (1969). For neuter third person pronouns in the subject environment, to take just one example, Speaker 2 has ee categorically, Speaker 7 has variation between ee and it (with ee predominating), Speaker 16 has variation with it predominating, and Speaker 14 has it categorically. This particular grammatical category, with its large number of divisions by case and gender, lends itself to the kind of implicational scaling proposed by DeCamp (1971) and Bailey (1973) and used by Bickerton (1973) for pronouns in Guyanese Creole. Even for the small number of speakers in the Gullah study, the outline of an implicational

island women use standard forms categorically. Standard forms for the complementizer are used categorically by a more diverse group of speakers: all island men and women in the middle aged group, young island women, one older mainland man and one older island woman. Island men in the oldest and youngest groups and mainland women in the oldest group retain creole forms across all three grammatical categories. Figure 11 indicates which speakers are most resistant to change, according to sex, age, and community membership. Group I is moving most rapidly toward standard forms, while Group III is most resistant to change. Older island women and older mainland men are somewhere in between Group II and III, as indicated by the categorical use of standard forms for the complementizer by one speaker in each of these two groups.

In a small number of speakers, carefully matched for sex, age, and social group, it has been possible to find systematic linguistic variation for three morpho-syntactic categories. The activation and progression of linguistic change in these categories are related to the social factors of speaker sex, age, community, and mobility. Those in the forefront of change are young and middle aged women in the island community who have available to them, through occupational roles reserved to their sex, opportunities to participate in a variety of speech events in which standard English is used. Those most resistant to change are also women,

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184
561
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I. Island women: young and middle aged

II. Island men: middle aged

(Island women: old)

(Mainland men: old)

III. Island men: young and old

Mainland women: old

Figure 11. Linguistic Change by Sex, Age, and Community

though of the older mainland group. Sharing their reluctance to change are older and younger island men, who have different occupational patterns and who may have stronger identification with island life than women. Again, as previous studies of sex-differentiated language use have noted, we find women occupying a paradoxical position in the process of language change. One group of women is strongly resistant to change, while another group is leading the community movement toward standard forms--both groups of women living in an isolated rural area and occupying similar social positions by conventional measures of social class. From my

121 perspective as a participant in community life, however, the
19 life experiences of these groups of women have been different
178 from each other and from those of men in their groups. Re-
562 cent anthropological analyses have pointed out that men and
121 women universally occupy different positions within their
562 cultural and social groups (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974;
Keenan, 1974). In these analyses, women are seen as outside
the male-oriented norms of their social groups. Linguists
have long understood that the interaction of language and
social life has important consequences for linguistic be-
havior (see especially Ferguson, 1959 and Hymes, 1967, 1973).
121 If the two sexes have differentiated social roles within all
562 societies, we must expect certain linguistic consequences
19 to follow from the different life experiences of the two
sexes. Men and women will speak differently from each other
in every social group, but the ways and extent to which they
differ can be expected to vary from social group to social
group. Hymes (1973) has observed that inequality among
speakers arises because some speakers participate in social
situations not available to other speakers. To resolve the
paradox of linguistically conservative and innovative women,
the social situations open to women in their respective
groups must be carefully examined. Focusing on women as-
members of social groups, we should not be surprised to find
them represented at the extremes of linguistic conservatism
or innovation, depending on the speech situations open to
them as active participants in communal life.

193 the use of the Creole continuative markers /bɪn/ and /dɐ/.
177 This movement indicates fluctuation in the direction of English.[3]

19 2.2. The *-ed* morpheme

The *-ed* morpheme does not occur as a past tense indicator in the corpus for this study. Simple past is marked by a verb immediately preceded by /bɪn/: /i bɪn liβ/ 'He left.' Many English inflectional morphemes are ac-
19 177 quired grammatical devices that are non-existent[3] in the basilect and extremely rare in the mesolect as exemplified by the data in this study.

The English marker *-ed* occurred only once in the data, and this one occurrence was considered a hyper-correction. Hyper-correction as defined by Fasold (1972:195) comes about when speakers are in the process of learning forms from a different linguistic system, and have not mastered all the constraints on their use. Consequently, they often extend usage to contexts which are never used by native speakers of the language or dialect from which the forms originated. The hyper-correction appearing in the data is /ɐɪ god oβɐ dɛ/ 'I went over there' (6). The speaker's knowledge of the English system of marking verbs may be incomplete. He may not have internalized *went* as the past tense marker of *go*, an irregular verb. As charac-

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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S 19 teristic behavior one would have expected a speaker to
177 say /ɒɪ bɪn go/ indicating an action which occurred some time in the past. This speaker replaces the preverbal marker /bɪn/ with the post-verbal *-ed*, which suggests vertical movement toward English.

S 19 Other occurrences of *-ed* are in words in which *-ed* does not mark tense:

ɒɪ tɛɪd	'I am tired'	(1)
de nɛkɪd man	'The naked man'	(1)

Bickerton (1975:107) shows that some past participle forms occur with polysyllabic verbs or learnèd words like *populated, accommodated, admitted,* and others with unaffixed forms (i.e. *populate* and *accommodate*). These words are seldom used by basilectal speakers unless used as formal vocabulary items. He concludes that when used, they are acquired as formal independent lexical items with no question of any productive process being involved.

It is not surprising that past tense *-ed* is essentially nonexistent in the data for the basilect, or the mesolect. The form has been discussed in descriptions of A 121 193 inland Black dialect for some time now, and the question of a creole origin for Black dialect is still an issue. Did it, or did it not derive from a creole ancestor like Gullah?' Rickford (1974:94) charges the failure of creolists to solve the mystery of Black dialect's ancestry to 'the traditional tendency to view a "creole" as a fixed invariant system, maximally different from its lexically

193 change as the Creole and the English replacement occur in
197 conjunction. The self-correction may indicate that the Creole is the more natural choice. Seemingly insecure about which form to use, each of the three speakers corrected his speech in favor of the language that he knew best. The last sentence shows the English replacement *was* occurring in pre-verbal position with a stem verb, where the preverb /bɪn/ would normally occur. The past tense indicator *-ed* is omitted and tense is marked by *was* as it would have been marked with /bɪn/. The joint appearance of the English past tense form with a Creole form owes its existence to a convergence of Creole and English grammar which produced a sentence which is neither Creole nor English. Even more important, the examples offer linguists an opportunity to observe abstract conceptualization processes that a speaker undergoes to reconcile the conflict between competing rules involved in linguistic change.

•19 Stressed /bɪn/. Neither Turner nor Cunningham acknowledge stressed /bɪn/ as a remote past marker in Gullah. Consultants 1, 2 and 3 produced examples of a stressed /bɪn/ which could not have been a variant form of the unstressed form because the sentences were uttered in a context which does not allow substitution by a simple past tense marker without alterning the meaning:

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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/i "bɪn dɛɪ/ (2)
'He has been dead a long time.'

/i bɪn dɛɪ/ (2)
'He died.'

/ɒɪ "bɪn no dat/ (2)
'I knew that.'

/ɒɪ bɪn ərǝ ɪlɛm ɛɪr ol/ (2)
'I was around eleven years old' but not
*'I have been around eleven years old for a long time.'

Unstressed /bɪn/ does not usually require the use of the auxiliary *have* to translate into English. Stressed /bɪn/ usually does require some form of the auxiliary *have* to translate into English surface structure. It is doubtful, however, that *have* is deleted by some phonological process because it made no appearances in the sampling. The past tense form *had* did appear sporadically in Table 2.3 (pre-mesolectal speakers) in constructions similar to /ɒɪ dɪn ɒd ɒm hɛd/ 'I didn't had it hard' (7). Bickerton observed that most of the consultants in his Guyanese study did not use *have* either as auxiliary or main verb, but they, like Gullah speakers, did use *had*.

A
193 Labov reports stressed /bɪn/ occurring in Black
194 dialect as a remote past-perfect marker. He writes that /bɪn/ appears in a specific grammatical category of Black dialect not recognized, evaluated, or understood by speakers of other dialects. For example, speakers of other dialects interpret the construction *She been married* as 'She has been married, but is not married any longer.' Black dialect speakers interpret the construction to mean

193 /bɪnə/ marking past and progressive. This class of features is hard to analyze because the English verbs often occur along with the Creole preverbs.

(4) A quantitative decline is apparent in the absence of /də/ and /bɪnə/ as revealed by Table 2.3 (pre-mesolectal speakers). These variants are less resistant to change than /dəɳ/ and /bɪn/ which have phonological cognates in English but have quite different semantic and syntactic functions. The consultants in this sampling are not familiar with the English restrictions, as evidenced by their performance.

193 Finally, attention may be drawn to the fact that
177 though all speakers selected used some Creole verbs:
(1) there are no speakers in the sample whose total count of English *be* verbs exceed the count of Creole preverbs;
(2) some speakers used no English *be* verbs at all;
(3) no speaker in the sample could be classified, according to his features of speech, as a Black dialect speaker.

•19 The conclusion made explicit by these generalizations is that all speakers in the sampling, basilectal and pre-mesolectal, are speakers of Creole in their choice of verbs. They differ only in the level of Creole spoken.

•19 Their performance indicates a slant toward isolect A, the level of Creole considered to be basilectal. The tense aspect markers /də/, /bɪn/, /bɪnə/ and /dɔŋ/ occur more frequently than the English markers, and these forms are characteristic of pre-verbs in other English based creole languages:

Gullah	Cameroon (Todd 1974)	Guyanese (Bickerton 1975)	Jamaican (Bailey 1966)
də	di	a	də, a
bɪn	bin	bin	bɛn
bɪnə bɪn + də	bin + də	binə	ɛn, a
dɔŋ	dɔŋ	don	don

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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CHAPTER 3

THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

3.0. Creole Pronominal Systems

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•19 The grammatical systems of Atlantic Creoles are complex, but they are not complicated by the elaborate systems of marking found in their European superstrates. Speakers of Indo-European languages must learn to use synthetic processes and devices which are not necessarily required for communicative interaction. Examples of such complications include the presence of obligatorily marked surface categories such as tense, case, gender, number, noun classifiers, voice, mood, and others. None of these is universal, and all may be missing in pidgin and creole languages without effective communication being lost.

It is argued that languages need a certain amount of redundancy for effective communication 'because linguistic exchanges take place almost invariably in conditions which are far from ideal' (Martinet 1960). Several theories have been proposed to explain the function of redundant devices. Included among them is Osgood's, which says that the redundancy quotient of a language will be around 50%, and that:

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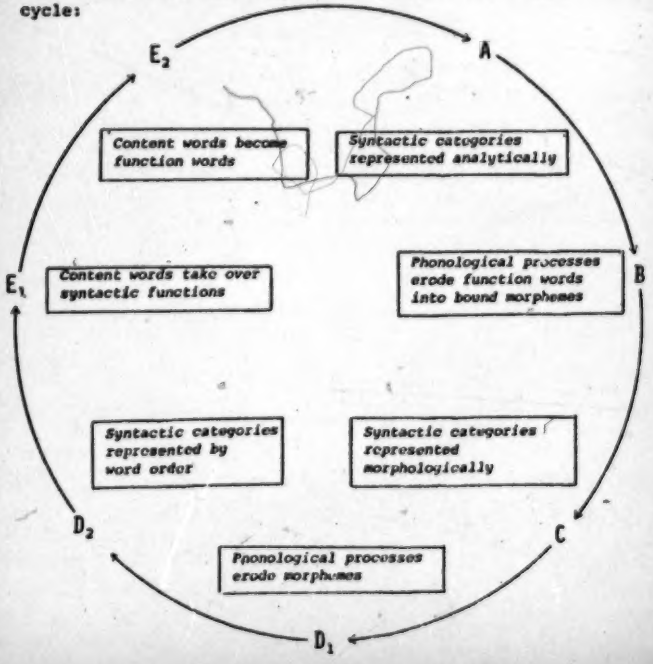
if a code becomes too tightly efficient, speakers will begin to add in redundant features in order to be understood, but as this process inevitably overshoots it mark, and the code becomes too redundant, speakers will begin to drop out certain features and 'get away with it'—and the cycle begins again (Osgood 1963:305).

Various theories have been proposed to express the need for redundancies in languages: Labov (1971), Givón (1973), and Traugott (1973). Dreyfuss (1975) summarizes the cyclic processes proposed by Traugott, Givón and others to explain the loss and acquisition of morphological elaboration with the following analytic-to-syntactic cycle:



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121 •19 The cycle suggests that syntactic and morphological elaboration can serve at least three functions in a language: (1) maintaining an adequate level of redundancy to allow for communication under inadequate conditions (the theory of redundancy formulated by Martinet and others); (2) providing material for stylistic variations (hypothesized by Labov 1971); and (3) expressing the categories of natural syntax (the theory hypothesized by Traugott 1973) (Dreyfuss 1975).

The pronominal system of creole languages has been studied by a number of creolists. Their findings indicate that creoles are not complicated by redundancies and elaborate systems of gender and case marking often found in Indo-European languages. For example, Jamaican Creole has little or no case marking but maintains gender marking for animate and inanimate. Cameroons Creole and Melanesian Pidgin mark neither case nor gender. Sierra Leone Krio marks case but not gender. Historically Gullah has been marked for case but not gender (Nichols 1976:86-7). 121 193 If present-day Gullah maintains a similar pronominal structure, one expects the categories of case and gender to be unspecified, and the nominative, objective, and possessive forms of third person singular pronouns to be essentially the same.

As a first test of this hypothesis, a survey was conducted of the use of third person singular pronouns throughout the Wadmalaw community. Third person singular

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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193 /da/ as existential'

do ɹion i do kɔm	'It is raining' 'It was raining' 'It will rain' 'It rained'	(1)
do sto ɔno sɔndi mɔgin	'It started on Sunday morning'	(2)
do liɔɹo do gɪɹn gitl	'The later it was getting, gal.'	(2)

/i/ as neuter *it*

i βɛzɔ saiklɔn	'It was a cyclone'	(2)
dɔs βt i ɪz	'That's what it is'	(8)
iɪ had no hɛid	'It didn't have any head.'	(8)

The frequency count of pronouns marking third person masculine, feminine and neuter nominative case revealed that /i/ marks all three genders, most of the time. In view of this, one can conclude that most of the time these consultants do not formally distinguish between masculine, feminine and neuter gender, which gives these forms for the nominative case, respectively: /i i i/.

•19 3.2. The Possessive Pronouns

There are four variants from which Gullah speakers may select to mark third person masculine possessive pronouns: /ɪm/, /i/, /iz/, /hiz/. It is necessary to provide a separate category for /iz/ and /hiz/ because most consultants delete initial [h] when pronouncing English words like *heart, hear, his, her, hone* and *hunt*. The unaspirated form /iz/ occurred six times more frequently than the

•19 aspirated, /hiz/, to mark the possessive. The pronoun /ɪm/ occurred more frequently than its aspirated allomorph /hɪm/. /hɔz/ and /ɔz/ occurred too infrequently for comparison.

Similar to its performance in the subjective cases, /i/ has a frequency of occurrence of 62.1% which is higher than any other form marking the masculine possessive case:

i blɛŋk i ɑ̈ɪ	'He blinked his eye.'	(17)
i du i teɪ lɛk dɛt	'He did his tail like that.'	(23)
bɛɾəflɑ̈ɪ dʒɛs tɛk ɪm taɪm	'The butterfly just took his time.'	(23)

Though there are four variants marking the third person feminine possessive case, the forms appeared less often in the data than any of the other pronoun forms. This limitation may be due in part to the unwillingness of the consultants to discuss matters relating to female persons. All of the consultants used for the pronoun survey were male, with the exception of two. Consequently, the subject matter may not have been conducive to the appearance of the feminine possessive, or for some linguistic reason the form was avoided.

When a feminine possessive pronoun was selected, no extreme polar variety of basilectal /ɪm/ or acrolectal /hɔz/ was chosen. When the environment was conducive to the selection of a third person feminine possessive pronoun, /i/ had an 83.8% occurrence contrasted with /ʃi/ which occurred only 16.2% of the time.[19] The consultants interviewed appeared to avoid the use of the possessive form

(115)

in general by supplying extra linguistic data such as the demonstrative pronoun *that one* and the article *a*. Cunningham (1970:22) writes that the definite article *the* may also mark possession, and it is not restricted to marking inalienable possession. Nichols (1976) excluded the possessive pronouns from her analysis because of the infrequency with which they occurred in her data. The following sentences exemplify one way that the consultants appear to avoid these forms:

so i kɪk ɛm wʌn, da ɸut ɸɛsɪn... (8)
i tak' i ied, ɐ bɛm, dɪ̃ βʌn ɸɛsɪn
so i dɣɛs are tiel nɔ

'So he kicked him one (and) his foot fastened.
He took his head and "bam"! His head fastened.
So he just had his tail (free) now.'

As with the nominative case pronouns, the same pattern emerges in the possessive case with /i/ as the general marker for both masculine and feminine pronouns: i i i / i i.

3.3. The Objective Forms

The third person singular objective pronouns show the least amount of change. The /ɔm/ form is dominant for masculine, feminine and neuter objects. It can be argued that /ɔm/ is an unaspirated, etymological allomorph of /hɪm/, just as /i/, /ɔɹ/, and /ɪz/ are unaspirated allomorphs of /hi/, /hɔɹ/ and /hɪz/. However, the data

193 some Gullah speakers who now add the palato-alveolar frica-
197 tive /ʃi/ while /i/ as masculine and neuter marker is
194 still used.

Stage V: i ʃi i / im im / om om om

000 At this stage in Guyanese Creole, Bickerton says that gender differentiation is interrupted as the change process recognizes the salience of /am/ in the object. He considers it salient because it is the only basilectal form in the system which is not perceived to be present in the acrolect. His claim seems inconsistent with the data for creoles. He argues that the principle of least effort ASSURES that replacement of a form will PRECEDE rather than ACCOMPANY a form differentiating gender; and that a form already in the system will constitute the replacement. He concludes that gender differentiation takes place next in the neuter subject:

Stage IV: i shi it / i i / i shi i
(Model for Guyanese Creole, Bickerton 1973)

This claim seems inconsistent with the data for some creole
193 languages. It does not parallel the developmental process for pronouns in Gullah because *it* as object pronoun seldom, if ever, occurs in the speech of the consultants in this study.

Stage VI: i ʃi i / im im / om ʃi om

19 Gender is distinguished in the object by the transference of the existing form /ʃi/ from the nominative to the object slot. Then, /om/ is replaced by /ʃi/, A FORM

19 ALREADY IN THE SYSTEM. Differentiation is completed in the possessive by further transference of the same form:

Stage VII: i ʃi i / ɪm ʃi / ɔm ʃi ɔm

After or somewhere during the categorical distribution of *she*, one gets recognition of gender in the neuter SUBJECT. I suggest neuter subject because my data (as well as Turner's, Cunningham's and Nichols') show few occurrences of *it* as neuter object.

i ʃi ɔm	'He saw it.'	(2)
i: de: de:	'It is there.'	(1)

Stage VIII: i ʃi ɪt / ɪm ʃi / ɔm ʃi ɔm

Anything after Stage VIII, I would refer to as an advanced stage. The system reaches a midway state and changes continue to proceed in the direction of the standard. *It*, as a lexical choice is transferred from nominative to object position, and other standard forms are substituted. The only forms which have not undergone change are the masculine OBJECT and POSSESSIVE. The object form occurs in Guyanese Creole as /am/, Jamaican Creole as /ɪm/, and in Gullah as /ɔm/.[12] Because this form has no preaspirated allomorph like /hi/, /him/, /hiz/, or /hɔz/, it is doubtful that /ɔm/ has any kind of etymological connection with *him*. Any connection with English *them* is also remote because the Creole /dɛm/ does not contract as *them* often does in certain English dialects. However, /ɔm/ shares related syntactic and semantic functions with *him* and *them*, and slight phonetic differences would allow easy relexification.

194 The rising diphthong [ɔu] is heard most frequently in words ending in *ow*, e.g. [nɔu] 'now', [plɔu] 'plow'.

The slightly falling diphthong [uɔ] is heard most frequently in Gullah and Jamaican Creole as an allophone of /o/, e.g. [nuɔ] 'no', [guɔs] 'ghost'.

•19 **4.2. The Consonants**

/p/ [p] is a voiceless bilabial stop which occurs initially without aspiration for speakers 3, 6, 8 and 13. Other speakers aspirate [pʰ] initially. An unusual kind of stop called an EJECTIVE is heard in the speech of consultants 6 and 8, in the words [pʔɒt] 'pot' and [tʔɛk] 'take'. The sound is produced when air is released from the glottis and the mouth almost simultaneously. As air flows from the mouth, it is followed immediately by the sharp popping sound of the glottis opening. A palatalized variant of /p/ is always heard before the diphthong [ie] as in [pien] 'pain'.

/b/ The voiced bilabial stop is often unvoiced when it appears in final syllables, e.g. [biebi] 'baby', but it is undetermined if devoicing occurs in /d/ and /g/ as well. Consultants 3, 12 and 23 sometimes use an implosive [ɓ] initially, e.g. [ɓɔn] 'born'.

/t/ [t] is a voiceless alveolar stop which has three allophones in Gullah:

1. a glottalized variant: [tˀɛk] 'take'
2. a palatalized variant occurring before high front vowels: [ʈiel] 'tail'
3. a variant heard as a lingual flap intervocalically and medially before /l/: [ɒɾom] 'autumn', [lɪɾl] 'little'.

Speaker 1 uses a strongly aspirated [tʰ] in the words [tʰuə] 'two' and [tʰɛ] 'tell'.

There is no evidence that Gullah speakers have underlying word-final *st* consonant clusters. /t/ is deleted from final /st/ consonant clusters regardless of environmental specifications such as word boundaries, inflections, or the sequencing of a vowel or consonant. In Black dialect, final /t/ is not deleted when followed by a vowel. Examples in Gullah are:

1. *st* preceding a vowel

i bəs out krɔɪ	'He burst out crying.'	(23)
ʤɛs ɒɪ ɪ ʃoʊm	'At first, I didn't see it.'	(23)

2. *st* preceding a consonant

dɪ gos trɔɪ fə skɛ mi	'The ghost tried to scare me.'	(23)
i ɔrɪsən	'His oldest son'	(2)

3. single morphemes

ɛgəs	'August'
mis	'missed'
məsə	'master'

In Gullah, word-final /nt/ clusters are also context-

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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•19 sensitive. The entire cluster is eliminated when the following morpheme begins with a stop, sibilant, or a glide. When the following morpheme begins with a vowel, one but not both members may be retained. Most often the nasal is assimilated by a preceding vowel and the /t/ is eliminated:

du ɔ̃nəm ɸo mi	'Do hunt it for me.'	(23)
ɐɪ ɔ̃ no	'I don't know.'	(1)

When consonant clusters have the same point of articulation in Black dialect, only the final member is deleted (Labov et al.; Lueldorff 1970).

meant	*men*
sent	*sen*
ain't	*ain*

In stressed position, /nt/ is articulated in Gullah, e.g. [ɛ̃nti] 'isn't it', where its appearance is also favored by a following vowel.

194

/d/ The voiced alveolar stop has several allophones in Gullah. It is heard:

1. as a lingual flap intervocalically: [oɾɪs] 'oldest'
2. as a retroflex before /ɹ/: [bɐ̈ɖɹ] 'battle'
3. as an implosive initially: [ɗɔg] 'dog'
4. as a palatal before front vowels: [ɟie] 'day'.

The data for this analysis show that in Gullah and other Atlantic creoles /d/ is generally the reflex of initial and intervocalic *th:* [di] 'the', [mɐ̈ɾə]

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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193 7. Some consultants who aided in the pronoun survey
115 participated in a very informal 'story-telling' contest
124 for which a prize was awarded to the one who told the most interesting tale. The stories were recorded and a frequency count was taken of third person singular pronouns as they occurred.

193 8. I consider /ɔn/ the most basilectal form for Gullah because, of the variants filling third person feminine objective slot, /ɔn/ is least like the form used in the acrolect. The /i/ form appeared in the objective slot infrequently, but it is not regarded as a performance error because it occurs in this position in Guyanese and Jamaican Creoles. It may be a stage in pronominal acquisition, but it may not be a stage that all speakers go through. *She* is considered mesolectal because it would seem to indicate that a speaker has acquired one acrolectal form to distinguish male from female.

193 9. Different intonation patterns were observed with
194 each tense. Unfortunately, I was not able to capture this
[126] on tape. The consultant assured me that all of the contexts were possible.

•19 10. There were only six tokens of /i/ counted in this category. The form [hiɔrɸ] 'himself' occurs in the data to mark third person feminine possessive as well as third person masculine possessive. It was not included with the other forms because I perceived it to be used by

speakers other than those consulted for the pronominal count. Similarly, *he own* and *she own* are often heard and were recorded by Turner (1949) and Cunningham (1970).

11. The neuter possessive pronouns are excluded from this analysis because they occurred too infrequently in the data. Nichols (1976) also notes the infrequency with which they appeared in her study.

12. Hancock's word list supplies most of the means for comparison of words in the Atlantic creoles unless specified otherwise. (Hancock 1970:7-72).

13. The selection of a rounded or unrounded variant of /ɔ/ has not yet been associated with factors of style, sex, age or other variables.

14. *Hag* has an unusual meaning for the Islanders. It can mean a person, man or woman, dead or alive. For this narrative, it is used to refer to a haunted house—a house inhabited by spirits or one living person with unusual powers.

15. This consultant's speech exemplifies the system of rule changes discussed earlier. He consistently uses the English past tense marker along with the Creole *was bin*. The fact that *was* is FOLLOWED by *bin* is an indication that the Creole form is the self-correction and that the speaker relies more heavily on the Creole form to make himself understood.

8: Smith Q-4,5 (no date) 1926

NN23 Sea Islanders NN23

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191 on their part just as much interested in and amused by up-country talkers, white or black. Plantation Negroes delight, though not appearing to do so, to watch a visiting stranger: "Dey use dem mout' so funny!"[9]

197 To come to the dialect itself, and to single out some of
212 its most interesting features," be it always kept in mind that Gullah is uniformly a spoken not a written speech. It lacks entirely any of the influences associated with writing or printing. It is untouched by the scratch of a pen save as it was recorded in transit, so to speak, by Mrs. Christensen, Colonel Jones, Mr. Gonzales, and others.

197 Both on this account and also because it has had to mud-
dle along without the standardizing effects of education, in it all the leveling and simplifying processes possible to language have had free sway.[10] Furthermore, when it was
• 19 first formulated as a medium of communication between master and slave, it was almost certainly a highly simpli-

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[9] Bennett I, 340.

[10] In this connection two important preliminary comments should be made.

(1) It is not meant that these features are unique in Gullah: some are, but many are not. Many of the grammatical usages, pronunciations, popular etymologies, proverbs, etc., are found in similar dialects elsewhere, and occasionally in general Negro usage or even in white usage in the South. For example F. M. Cronise and H. W. Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider, and the Other Beef: West African Folk-Tales*, E. P. Dutton, N. Y., 1903, gives the Sierra Leone Negro dialect wherein may be found many interesting parallels with Gullah. Compare also the remarks of Professor Krapp below, Note 46. Parsons, also, (Preface XVII) gives several Bahaman parallels such as *daw-clean, man* as a form of address, *do* as a supplicatory exclamation, and in Note 5 mentions further Sierra Leone parallels, *um* (them), *too* (very), *ainter* (South Carolina *enty*), *nyse* (eye), *tilly*, (sister), and *oonuh* (you).

Likewise Mr. Bennett throughout his two articles (especially I, pp. 346, 347) calls attention to various parallels in Middle and Elizabethan English and in the peasant usage of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Sussex and Kent.

(2) Again, there was (and is) no standard Gullah in the sense that there is a standard literary English. As Mr. Bennett explains: "Gullah has its variants, as naturally followed from the constrained remoteness of distant plantations and absence of intercourse; phrases heard on the Altamaha are unknown upon the Santee; words in use in the Georgetown District vanish at Edisto; John's Island is not St. Helena's; Silk Hope was not Toogoodoo." (I, 341). Moreover, the particular method of reducing the dialect to writing, especially the degree to which phonetic spelling is carried, causes many variations among the different writers of the dialect. It is interesting to compare, for example, the Beaufort Gullah of Mrs. Christensen and John G. Williams, the Georgetown Gullah of J. Jenkins Hucks, the Combahee Gullah of Gonzales, the St. Helena dialect of Parsons, and the Edisto dialect of Marcellus S. Whaley.

An interesting example of the differences in Negro dialects is contained in Addison Hibbard's "Æsop in Negro Dialect," *American Speech*, June, 1926.

194 "Writing in 1867, W. F. Allen, one of the compilers of *Slave Songs in the United States*, says: "With these people the process of 'phonetic decay' appears to have gone as far, perhaps, as is possible."

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•19 fied form of English," both in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary, with elision of difficult sounds, shortening of words, modification of every difficult enunciation, and a minimum of forms for person, number, case, and tense.

Thus, simple to begin with and uniformly responsive to all possible leveling influences, Gullah is as nearly an uninflected tongue as it is possible to conceive.

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19 "George Philip Krapp in "The English of the Negro" (*American Mercury*, June, 1925) gives the following conjectural picture of its origins: "The assimilation of the 175 language of the Negroes to the language of the whites did not take place all at once. Though the historical evidence is not as full as might be wished, the stages can be followed with some certainty. When the Negroes were first brought to America they 569 could have known no English. Their usefulness as servants, however, required that some means of communication between master and slave should be developed. There is little likelihood that any masters exerted themselves to understand or to acquire the native language of the Negroes in order to communicate with them. On the contrary, from the very beginning the white overlords addressed themselves in English to their black vassals. It is not difficult to imagine the kind of English this would be. It would be a very much simplified English—the kind of English some people employ when they talk to babies. It would probably have no tenses of the verb, no distinctions of case in nouns or pronouns, no marks of singular or plural. Difficult sounds would be eliminated, as they are in baby talk. Its vocabulary would be reduced to the lowest possible elements. In short, it would be a language of very much the same kind as those which have developed elsewhere under similar circumstances. It would have resemblances to the Beach-la-Mar of the Western Pacific, the Pidgin English of China, and the Chinook jargon of western America. As the Negroes imported into America came from many unrelated tribes, speaking languages so different that one tribe could not understand the language of another, they themselves were driven to the use of this infantile English in speaking to one another."

See also a similar account by James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, The Viking Press, 1925, pp. 42, 43.

The actual historical picture is thus sketched by Mr. Bennett. "At the time of the arrival of the negroes in the American provinces a considerable proportion of the population was composed of white bondsmen, indentured mechanics and 'redemptioners', the laborers of the colony, among whom the newly-arrived negroes learned their English. Their vocabularies were small and very markedly dialectal, in the majority of instances a dialect which had been handed down from father to son for several generations, preserving closely the peculiarities of earlier times, in many cases Elizabethan and Jacobean.

"The Africans, plastic as they are by nature, quickly lost their own language, and acquired imperfectly the dialects of the British peasantry among whom they worked, and by whom very generally they were directed. The main reason was, perhaps, that, at the height of the trade, owing to the danger of conspiracy, large groups of negroes upon great plantations and in any considerable establishments, were generally made up, by preference, of negroes of different tribes, speaking languages and dialects unknown to one another. They were mostly young, for youth retains no lasting memories and acquires a new language with greater ease.

"The new negroes were parcelled out among the early bond-servants, and, later, among the trained servants, preventing their congregating in a body, hastening their familiarity with their new duties, and more quickly learning the language of their monitors and wardens. This plan was operative from very early days in obliterating the many African dialects and tongues native to the Negro slaves." Personal letter to Professor Yates Snowden, of the University of South Carolina, Jan. 22, 1918.

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194 126 speaker of unadulterated Gullah gives a mouth-full-of-mush effect, rolling out his short-clipped words with a rapidity which is amazing to those who think that all Negroes drawl. An accurate recording of this pure type is very difficult, and, when done, gives a peculiar result indeed. Jones, Gonzales, Whaley, and a few others have (114) succeeded very well in reducing it to writing. Their results are quite different from those of Mrs. Christensen and Mrs. Parsons, in part because the latter collected their stories from people who spoke a modified Gullah.[9]

Two persons rarely hear the same sounds exactly alike. If they do, they will probably represent them differently in writing. Some dialect writers, having achieved the "accurate recording" state of mind, carry the thing to the extreme and spell phonetically many words which are pronounced in the standard way by Negroes and white people. For example, a writer who would spell his own pronunciations of *little*, *victual*, *about*, in the standard way, is sometimes guilty of representing Negro speech as *littul* or *lit'l*, *vittle* or *vittul*, and *uhbout* when the Negro and the standard pronunciations are alike.

539 (19) The following specimens will not only serve to introduce the reader to the phonology, grammar, and idiom of the dialect, but will give him some idea of the variations due to locality and to the method of recording.

I[10]

Buh Lion bin a hunt, an eh[1] spy Buh Goat duh leddown[2] topper er big rock duh wuk eh mout an der chaw. Eh creep up fuh

(576) [1] Like everyone else, these Negroes have "company manners." When talking to a stranger, especially to a white man, they tend to tone down their speech so that it is more easily understood than is their ordinary conversation with one another.

(113) [10] From Jones, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*, p. 38. Explanatory notes are printed below each of the excerpts which follow.

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539 pon 'tell I git'tuh Willtown road—*twenty mile mo'*—ennuh halt fuh'uh seazun. I ain' bindeh[1] long fo' day bruk en wun fass riduh obuhtek'mih, gih'mih metsidge seh fuh tun bac'. 'E seh ain'duh no Yankee *'tall;* seh binnuh stingry[2] duh tun'obuh een Haulobuh' Cut, en dih pickit binnuh *sway*[3] duh *Yankee* duh paddle boat *cummin'* 'cross."

[1] other. [2] grits. [3] thick. [4] on, on top of. [5] like, like a. [6] who, what. [7] duty. [8] here. [9] hear. [10] fife. [11] make haste. [12] noise. [13] afraid. [14] don't care. [15] thousand. [16] things. [17] been there. [18] stingray (a fish).

v[14]

Ber Wolf had a pease-patch. An' every night somebody go in de pease-patch an' eat de pease. So Ber Wolf made a tar baby an' set him up in de yard. So Ber Rabbit went in de patch, an' he meet de tar baby standin' up. So Ber Rabbit said, "Good-mornin', gal!" Tar Baby ain't go no manners, say nothin'. Say, "Man, I slap you." His hand fasten. Ber Rabbit say, "I got anoder han'." So he hit him wid dat han! Dat one fasten. Ber Rabbit said, "I got a head." Said he butt him wid de head. De head fasten. "Gal, you don't see I got a foot?" So he kick him wid de foot. De foot fasten. "I kick him wid de oder foot." Dat one fasten. Ber Rabbit said, "I got a mout'.' De mout' fasten. Den Rabbit say, "Tu'n me loose!"

Next t'ing come along Wolf. Wolf say, "I ketch yer, t'ief! you eat all my pease. I putshyer head down on de choppin'-block an' chop em off."—"Oh, don't duh dat! Dat will kill me." Say, "I want ter kill you." Say, "I'll t'row you in de creek, drown you." "Ah, don't duh dat!" he say. "Yes, Ber Wolf, t'row me in de briar-patch! Den you'll kill me." When Ber Wolf t'row him in de briar-patch, Rabbit say, "Ping! Ping! Dat's de place my mammy done born me!" So dat ol' rabbit git away.

539 •19 From these brief passages one can see that the outstanding characteristics of the dialect may be expressed as follows: (1) economy in vocalization, as evidenced by the short cuts in tenses, pronouns, number, gender, etc.; (2)

[14] From Parsons, *Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina*, pp. 26-7.

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the use of archaic words and pronunciations; (3) the use of corrupt forms of English. There is, of course, more than this to the dialect, but these are really its distinguishing features as one gets them from the printed page. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the dialect is the way it is spoken. Its rapid succession of sounds with their sudden and extensive changes in pitch is something which has to be heard to be understood.

A careful study of Gullah reveals that there is law and order in the seeming chaos of this dialect. There is no better way to gain an understanding of the nature and development of Gullah than to take up in some detail its phonology and grammar. As the analysis proceeds it will become more and more apparent that practically every detail of the Gullah grammar and phonology is directly descended from the midland and southern English dialects.

PHONOLOGY[15]

Vowels

(*a*, *ea*, as in *art*, *heart*)

Words having *ar* or *al* plus a consonant, as in *art*, *cart*, *heart*, *calm*, are pronounced by most Gullah speakers as if the vowel were that found in *fat*, *that*, *hat*. This vowel is prolonged slightly, so that *heart* becomes *haat*, *lark* be-

[15] In tracing the relation between the Gullah phonology and the seventeenth-century English dialect phonology, there is of course some difficulty in obtaining accurate accounts of the latter. In most of the English dialect areas, however, there has been no great change in the phonological traits, so that eighteenth and nineteenth century records are accurate enough in general for the purposes of this analysis. Various dictionaries, grammars, and dialect glossaries have been consulted, also the works of men like Halliwell, Skeat, Sweet, the Wrights, etc. The monumental works, *The English Dialect Grammar* and *The English Dialect Dictionary*, both edited by Joseph Wright, draw upon all sources, and I have relied upon them for much of my comparative data.

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two went fuh t'ief a cow," "Buh Lion nyam (ate) um 802
'all-two," etc. When referring to a particular month, the speaker says "de June mont'," "de Augus' mont'," etc.

Miscellaneous

There are many additional points which might be 193
mentioned, but most of them are not particularly significant. However, there is one other feature of the grammar which is interesting and is characteristic of Gullah, namely, the interrogative *enty*. *Ain't* is usually *ent* in the dialect, and it is used just as white people use it. But the Negro has generalized *ain't it, ain't he*, etc., and has made *enty*, which he uses exactly like the French *n'est-ce-pas* and the German *nichtwahr*. Thus "'e gwine rain, enty?" "Oonah come tomorrow, enty?" "Dem was good apples, enty?" etc. The source of *enty* was the *ent, int, yent, yunt*, etc., which the English dialect speakers used for *isn't*. Since this word when used interrogatively was followed more frequently by *'e* (he) or *it* than any other words, the Negro really did not have to do much to the English dialect usage to achieve *enty*.[92]

VOCABULARY

Analysis of Gonzales' Glossary

It may seem that the English dialect paternity of 177
Gullah has been unduly emphasized, but such is not the 19.
case. Indeed, it probably played an even larger part in the development of Gullah than has been indicated in this brief sketch.

A broad view of the nature of the Gullah vocabulary 192

[92] See *E. D. G.*, pp. 244, 273.

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from the West Indies. The variety of African language groups and the conditions of slavery were such that it was difficult for any particular African word to survive over a large area through its use by slaves alone. But here and there planters would observe certain native words used by a few individuals to designate well known objects like terrapins, peanuts, etc., and they would take up these words in their conversations with slaves. Then, finding that other planters had encountered similar words, they began to use the best known ones in everyday speech and in writing, thus giving them a sound basis for survival. Then, too, there is the probability that a few African words were introduced directly into English by white sailors and traders who had picked them up in the various slave stations on the African Coast.

Naturally enough, in Englishing certain African words, the Southern white man has added an *r* to the spellings so that it will be seen and not heard. He writes *cooter*, *goober*, *pindar*, but as a rule he pronounces them as the Negroes do, their African originals being *kudu*, *gingooba*, and *mpinda*.

THE PERSISTENCE OF GULLAH

Smith has attributed some of the characteristics and the persistence of Gullah to the native quality of the "Gullah tribesmen." He thinks that "their resolute and persistent nature evidently assisted in impressing their dialectal characteristics on weaker and more plastic Negroes from elsewhere brought in contact with them, and definitely fixed for two hundred years the tonality of the Negro dialect of the Carolina and Georgia Coast."[132]

[132] *Gullah*, p. 8.

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Williams relates the following incident as an illustration of the unusual persistence of Gullah: "More, perhaps, than a hundred years ago certain Negroes were carried from a rice plantation in Colleton County and put on a cotton plantation in Barnwell District, as it was called then, but to this day (1896) the older ones of that set of Negroes, who grew up before the war, speak as pure Gullah as their grandfathers and grandmothers spoke on Ashepoo. They seem to have been scarcely affected in their low-country Gullah speech by the white people that were numerous and all around them and the Negroes native to that neighborhood, who talked so differently to themselves."[133]

It is not at all necessary to predicate an ethnic basis for the survival of the low-country Negro speech. Does not the low-country white speech show the same persistence? And when a Charlestonian or Edistonian moves to the up-country, does it not take several generations to obliterate the low-country characteristics of the speech of his family? The instance cited by Williams merely illustrates the fact that speech patterns are like other human culture patterns. Even in a strange environment they tend to persist indefinitely unless the surrounding group uses pressure to alter them or the immigrant group considers it positively advantageous to substitute the new patterns for their old ones. The persistence of Gullah is merely the persistence of a set of speech patterns in a more or less isolated cultural area.

Most of the younger generation of sea-island Negroes have been to school for periods ranging from a few days

[133] *De Ole Plantation*, Preface, p. v.

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to seven or eight years. Is this process not rapidly de-Gullahizing the Negro dialect? Probably not. It depends a great deal upon the teacher, his own speech, his training, and the possibility of giving the pupils an adequate exposure to standard English. Visiting the humble schools of the various islands, one is struck with several facts. The teacher is nearly always a native, which is as it should be. He, or she, more often the latter on St. Helena, has little training beyond the school in which he teaches, he receives a mere pittance for his work and must do other things to support himself, and as a rule he teaches about seven grades in a one-room building.

(875)

I have heard pupils recite in most of the schools on St. Helena Island. Most of them spell like this: *h-e-a-r-t, haat; m-a-n, mahn; t-h-a-t, dat; w-i-n-e, vine; v-i-n-e, wine; o-i-l, ile;* and the teacher soon despairs of trying to change their habits to any noticeable degree. I once listened to a sixteen year old boy trying to read correctly the simple sentence, "I will give them to the men." With the possible errors *vill, gib, dem, de, mans, mens,* there was not much chance of his ever reading every word correctly. His teacher had him repeat it again and again, but as fast as she made him say one word properly he would go wrong on another one. Finally, after some fifteen trials, she gave up and let him read on in his own fashion. With only a few minutes each day devoted to reading, and with many teachers teaching in the vernacular, there is little chance that the schools will make any serious inroads in the dialect in the present generation. Fifty years, perhaps even a hundred years, from now, the English of the sea-island Negroes will still be looked upon as something unusual.